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THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

Senior Review Panel

30 November 1984

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence
Chairman, National Intelligence Council
NIO for USSR

SUBJECT: Senior Review Panel Comments on Draft
Concept Paper and Terms of Reference (TOR)
for NIE 11-9/2-84: Soviet Policy Toward
the Superpower Competition, 1985-1990,
received 27 November 1984

1. The Panel has read with interest the draft Concept Paper and TOR. The subject is of unquestionable importance and merits careful and comprehensive consideration. We appreciate the time pressures constraining our comments and make the following quick points.

2. Primacy of the US Factor. The Concept Paper seems to us correctly to emphasize the central importance of the US in Soviet thinking about superpower competition. In this it perceptively follows on an extremely thoughtful and valuable contribution to the subject, SNIE 11-9-84, Soviet Policy Toward the United States in 1984, of 14 August and provides a coherence we think the present TOR lack.

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3. Analytical Approach. Much of the TOR are elliptical headings on which it is difficult to comment. We think time might be saved in the end if these were refined now into the main intelligence issues the estimate will treat and the method of approach it will employ. Obviously many of these headline

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factors bearing on Soviet policy choices are subject to wide ranges (cf. - "the economy," "leadership politics," "diplomacy," etc.) and the combinations among them, if not infinite, are very complex. Some form of analytical matrices for the permutations will probably have to be tried. The estimate's managers and drafters might find it helpful if these were at least broadly indicated at the outset.

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5. Specificity. One of the great merits of SNIE 11-9-84 was its identification and discussion of specific potential crisis areas (Central America, Pakistan, the Persian Gulf, Berlin). We wonder whether the single reference to "Third World areas and countries" at TOR III-D may not be too wide a context for realistic projections.

6. Alternative Policies. Finally, the four "hypothesized foreign policy models" (TOR-II) represent of course only a few of the numerous variations possible. We think they should allow, even if not expanded further, for the possibility that either Soviet confrontation or cooperation with the US could admit, as in the past, quite different Soviet approaches to other areas of the world.

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